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AUTHOR Blake, Elias, Jr.; Coog, Henry

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ABSTRACT

This publication discusses the subject of black studies programs in 29 American colleges and universities. Issued initially in 1974, the report is based on a survey of black studies programs in a limited number of colleges and universities. The survey was prompted by the need to provide critical information about the development and implementation of a variety of somewhat new programs which addressed vital social, cross cultural and historical issues and problems in American education. The analysis of findings of the survey indicates several clear patterns in the organization and academic scope of the various black studies programs investigated. Among them are the following: (1) most of the black studies programs included in the study originated as a result of student demands, (2) the vast majority of the programs studied operated as autonomous units, (3) the programs investigated derived their theoretical focus from the experience of black Americans, (4) nearly all the programs surveyed were supported financially by funds from the regular institutional budgets, and (5) in most programs, the black studies faculty was without academic rank and tenure. A final section of this publication examines major issues and future prospects for institutional survival. A short selected listing of recent titles on the subject of black studies is included. (Author/AM)

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BLACK STUDIES
ISSUES IN THEIR INSTITUTIONAL SURVIVAL

ED146286

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U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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HIGHLIGHTS

This publication discusses the timely subject of Black Studies Programs in the nation's colleges and universities. Issued initially in 1974, the report is based on a survey of Black studies programs in a limited number of colleges and universities. The survey was prompted by the need to provide critical information about the development and implementation of a variety of somewhat new programs which addressed vital social, cross cultural and historical issues and problems in American education.

The survey was conducted under Office of Education Contract No. OEC-71-4693 by the Institute for Services to Education. The principal investigators were Dr. Elias Blake, Jr. and Dr. Henry Cobb.

The analysis of findings of the survey indicates several clear patterns in the organization and academic scope of the various Black Studies Programs investigated in 29 selected institutions of higher education. Emerging issues and problems are examined in detail.

The conclusions summarize the data around the identified issues of the survey while the commentary "Major Issues and Future Prospects for Institutional Survival" examines and reflects the major concerns revealed in the study.

The report is based primarily on results of interviews and a close examination of printed materials and/or procedures utilized by selected institutions offering Black Studies Programs. Survey tasks involved discussion and interpretation of:

1) Structural Relationship to the Institution
2) Theoretical Focus and Objectives
3) Financing
4) Staffing
5) Enrollment Pattern, and
6) Identification of Major Issues.

A short selected listing of recent titles on the subject of Black Studies is included.

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BLACK STUDIES

ISSUES IN THEIR INSTITUTIONAL SURVIVAL

Principal Investigators
Elias Blake, Jr.
Henry Cobb

TASK FORCE GROUP
For
Survey of Afro-American Studies Programs

Henry Cobb, Chairman

Tobe Johnson
Martin Kilson
Jewel Prestage

Assisting Staff
Robert Moran
Shelby Smith

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
David Mathews, *Secretary*
Virginia Y. Trotter, *Assistant Secretary for Education*
Office of Education
William F. Pierce, Acting Commissioner

October 1976

The Study reported herein was supported pursuant to Contract No. OEC-0-71-4693 with the Institute for Services to Education and the U.S. Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The findings and conclusions are those of the Co-investigators. The opinions presented do not express the position or policy of the U.S. Office of Education and no official endorsement by the U.S. Office of Education should be inferred.

FOREWORD

This report presents the main findings and conclusions of a study of the status of Black Studies Programs at selected American colleges and universities. The study was conducted in 1974 by the Institute for Services to Education, Washington, D.C. under contract with the U.S. Office of Education.

Planned by the Black Concerns Staff of the Office of Education, the study was designed to (a) provide current information about the status of various types of Black Studies programs in selected institutions of higher learning and (b) identify current trends in definitions and approaches to the educational issues around which individual Black Studies Programs are focused.

A total of twenty-nine colleges and universities representing a wide geographical and institutional variation were included in the investigation. A summary and examination of the findings are included in a special analysis entitled: "Major Issues and Future Prospects for Institutional Survival."

A short selected bibliography of recent periodical articles on Black Studies Programs has been added to provide current sources of information about studies and surveys which deal with newly emerging issues in Black Studies Programs. Each title suggests a continuing interest in this subject which, at the same time, points the way for the development of a future survey which would both take into account the recommendations from this report and reflect emerging issues.

The Office of Education gratefully acknowledges the interest and assistance of the twenty-nine institutions which served as participants in the survey. The Office conveys sincere appreciation to the many educators who submitted helpful comments to the Black Concerns Staff pertaining to the study design, for coordination of the findings by representatives of the Bureau of Postsecondary Education, and for the high level commitment of the task force team which conducted the study.

U.S. COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES: AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES PROGRAM* TASK FORCE GROUP

(Name, Education, Previous Experience and Positions)

Elias Blake, Jr., Ph.D.
B.A., Paine College, 1951
M.A., Howard University, 1954
Ph.D., University of Illinois, 1960

1954-55. Prior to returning to graduate school, Dr. Blake taught a year at Miles College in Birmingham, Alabama.

1958-66. Assistant Professor of Education, Howard University. In addition to teaching (he was given an Outstanding Teacher Award by the College of Liberal Arts Student Council in 1964). Dr. Blake did institutional research on attrition rates and performance patterns of students in remedial programs.

1966-67. Southeastern Regional Director of Upward Bound of ISE. (ISE contracted with the Office of Economic Opportunity to develop and monitor initial phases of the Upward Bound Program.) The position involved program development, monitoring of program quality and financial management of Upward Bound programs. Extensive field work was required for site visits to programs.

1967-69. Director of Evaluation (ISE). Development of a comprehensive evaluation of a program of curriculum reform in 13 Black colleges involving motivational, socio-economic, academic and test data as they moved through four years of college. He was, in addition, Deputy to the President with special responsibilities in grant and fiscal administration.

1969-Present. President, Institute for Services to Education, Inc. (ISE), a non-profit corporation involved in research and program development work related to greater access for Blacks in higher education. The Institute has worked primarily with the predominantly Black colleges in (1) the development of policy research supportive of greater opportunity for Black youth, (2) the development of demonstration programs in curriculum reform, involving the development of curriculum materials and teaching strategies; in technical assistance delivery for improving information systems and management in Black colleges, (3) basic research on racially changing colleges, (4) research on enrollment trends of Blacks in higher education.

Henry Earl Cobb, Ed.D.
B.A., Benedict College, 1941
Ed.D., Temple University, 1952
Post Doctoral Study — Boston University
1962-63 in African Studies

1941-46. Armed Services, U.S. Army, discharged with rank of Captain. Member of the Attorney General's Panel: The Florida Leadership Study in Desegregation.

1948-52. Assistant Professor of History, Tuskegee Institute.

1952-57. Professor of History, Florida A&M University.

1957. Professor of History, Southern University at Baton Rouge.

1964-69. Chairman of the Department of History and Geography.

1969-72. Visiting Lecturer of Black History, Louisiana State University.

1969-Present. Dean of the Graduate School, Southern University at Baton Rouge.

Tobe Johnson, Ph.D.
B.A., Morehouse College, 1954
Ph.D., Columbia University, 1963

1956-57. Instructor of Political Science, Prairie View A&M.

1958-59. Assistant Professor, Morehouse College.

1961-62. Assistant Professor, Prairie View A&M.

1962-66. Associate Professor, Morehouse College.

1963-65. Coordinator, Freshman Social Science Program.

1965-66. Visiting Associate Professor of Public Administration, Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, University of Pittsburgh.

1967-68. Coordinator, Distinguished Visiting Progressors Program, Morehouse, Spellman, Clark,

*Used interchangeably with BLACK STUDIES PROGRAMS throughout the report.

Morris Brown Colleges. Chairman of Morehouse Self-Study. Professor, Carleton College Social Science Program (summer), 1968.

1969-Present. Director, Afro-American Studies Program, Atlanta University Center.

Martin L. Kilson, Ph.D.

Public Schools, Ambler, Penn.
Lincoln University, Penn. 1949-53
Harvard University, 1953-59
M.A. 1958; Ph.D., Political Science, 1959

1958-59. Teaching Fellow in Government, Harvard.

1959-61. Ford Foundation Foreign Area Training Fellow, West Africa.

1961-62. Tutor in Government, Harvard University.

1962-63. Lecturer in Government, Harvard.

1964-65. Visiting Professor, University of Ghana.

1965-67. Lecturer in Government, Harvard.

1969. Professor of Government.

1973-74. Consultant, Ford Foundation.

1969-Present. Professor of Government.

Robert Earl Moran, Sr.

B.A., Ohio State University, 1938
M.A., Ohio State University, 1944
Ph.D., Ohio State University, 1968

1944-46. Teacher of Mathematics, Palmer Memorial Institute.

1947. Xenia East High School.

1948-59. Allen University.

1956-59. Director of Student Teaching, Allen University.

1959-Present. Instructor of History, Southern University at Baton Rouge. Chairman, Department of History, Southern University at Baton Rouge.

Jewel Limar Prestage, Ph.D.

B.A., Southern University, Baton Rouge, 1951
M.A., University of Iowa, 1952
Ph.D., University of Iowa, 1954
(all degrees in Political Science)

1954-55. Associate Professor of Political Science, Prairie View College.

1956-62. Associate Professor of Political Science, Southern University, Baton Rouge.

1962-Present. Professor of Political Science, Southern University.

1965-Present. Chairman, Department of Political Science, Southern University.

Shelby Lewis Smith, Ph.D.

B.A., Southern University, Baton Rouge
M.A., University of Massachusetts, Amherst
Ph.D., University of New Orleans

1962-64. Education Officer, Ministry of Education, Uganda.

1964-66. Director of Guidance, Tororo School, Uganda.

1968. Professor, Political Science, Southern University at Baton Rouge.

1970. Director of Civic Education Center, Southern University at Baton Rouge.

Present. Professor of Political Science, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.

INTRODUCTION

In the early summer of 1972 the Institute for Services to Education formed a small Task Force Group to conduct a limited but systematic inquiry into the status of Black Studies Programs at a selected number of American institutions of higher education.

Objectives. The major purposes of the study are (1) the formulation of a broad general, workable definition of Black Studies that would have relevance for a wide range of varied types of programs, (2) the identification and selection of a group of (20-30) programs as representative; ascertaining the purpose, nature and functioning of these programs through visitations, interviews and other techniques, and (3) the identification of major issues associated with the development of Black Studies programs along with alternative approaches to these issues.

In addition to the above purposes, it was also accepted as a reasonable supposition that the findings of the study and the literature associated with it could be distilled into a useful and practical set of guidelines which would be helpful to persons developing or evaluating Black Studies (Afro-American) programs in higher education.

Scope and Method. The study included a total of 29 programs (See Table 1) each of which was visited by a member of the Group. Table 2 will indicate the major characteristics of the institutions at which these programs were located. While the Task Force did not formally adopt a uniform instrument to be used during visitations, it was agreed that each team member would attempt to elicit information concerning the components necessary to formulate the major issues. The tasks involved discussion and interpretation of—

1. Structural Relationship to the Institution
2. Theoretical Focus and Objectives
3. Financing
4. Staffing
5. Enrollment Pattern
6. Identification of Major Issues

Much additional information incidental to the main thrust of the inquiry was collected, and was reported where such reporting tended to illuminate the points already chosen for analysis.

Part of the initial meeting of the Task Force Group was spent developing a procedure for carrying out the study. The remainder of the first meeting was spent dealing with a series of theoretical propositions, in the form of interrogative hypotheses, from which it was hoped a sort of intellectual vantage point for approaching the study might be derived. Although the project director's first charge—the formulation of a definition of Black Studies—was acknowledged and accepted, it was more or less generally agreed that, while theoretical considerations were important, any meaningful *definition* of Black Studies would of necessity have to be linked with the findings of the study. For this and other reasons the Group did not allow itself to become bogged down in an unproductive semantic encounter, preferring rather to allow the findings of the study (within the limitations set) to determine what Black Studies Programs really are in the light of existing realities.

Focusing on Major Questions

The discussion of the Task Force Group noted above could be described as an intellectual free-for-all that gradually assumed focus. The questions raised tended to probe rather deeply into the nature of Black Studies, but they also brought into view many other related issues.

For example:

Does the absence (at this time) of a well-developed methodology for dealing with the kinds of problems raised by Black Studies mean that if serious work is to proceed, Black Studies must be centered in the disciplines where established proof systems already exist?

Are Black Studies mainly for enrichment and image-development purposes?

Should there be Black Studies majors? If so, should the major satisfy vocational needs?

Are Black Studies, in the main, a process of discovering and promulgating additional information or is a point of view involved?

Is there a special epistemological frame within which the Black Experience should be taught and studied?

Should Black Studies be regarded as agents of educational reform?

What should be their impact on the traditional or older disciplines?

How should Black Studies affect scholarly activity? Should they add a new dimension to critical inquiry?

What does it mean to have a Black Studies Program on the campus of a predominantly white college or university?

What do the proponents of Black Studies programs really want—new sources of knowledge or social and political change?

The above cited questions were not the only ones raised; they should be regarded simply as prototypes. Almost as important, perhaps, as the kinds of questions raised, were certain other kinds of questions. Questions which implied that, in Black Studies as in practically all other endeavors, Blacks had to "prove" themselves. The latter kinds of questions were basically arrogant and insulting. For example: Is there any intellectual validity in studying the Black Experience? In the early years (1968-1970) some honored members of the academe questioned whether there was a body of knowledge or sufficient sources available on which to build a Black Studies course and not threaten the respectability of the academic tradition. Apparently the members of the Task Force held no such doubts; accordingly, these kinds of questions did not enter into the exchange. The Task Force Group discussion cleared the air and prepared the way for dealing with the more substantive matters of determining the scope, selecting a method, and organizing the study.

Collection of Information

This report is based primarily on interviews and a close examination of the printed materials* developed by the schools visited. In every case a special effort was made to interview the directors of the programs. In all but a few instances the team was successful. In the remaining cases, the associate directors were interviewed. Additionally, students were interviewed in one institution and the Dean of the University in another. These latter interviews were fruitful, but fortuitous, and not a part of the study design.

TABLE 1—BLACK STUDIES PROGRAMS BY INSTITUTION

Atlanta University
City College of New York
Cleveland State University
Florida A & M University
Harvard University
Howard University
Indiana University
Jackson State College
Michigan State University
Morgan State College
New York University
Notre Dame University
Pepperdine College
Queens College
San Francisco State College
Southern University
The Ohio State University
University of California at Berkeley
University of California at Los Angeles
University of Cincinnati
University of Louisville
University of Michigan
University of San Francisco
University of Southern California
University of Tennessee
University of Texas
Washington University
Wayne State University
Yale University

*i.e. program information, course name, content, class schedules and related course objectives.

TABLE 2—INSTITUTIONS VISITED BY CONTROL AND GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION

	East	South	Midwest	West	Total
Public	3	6	8	3	20
Private	3	1	2	3	9
Totals	6	7	10	6	29

Analysis of Information

All information obtained from the visitations was made equally available to each member of the investigating team. Materials* were not available from two of the programs. In one, the institution materials were being revised, and at the other, the school simply would not permit the visitor to see them. The quality and amount of the materials varied from excellent to poor, and from skimpy to voluminous. No necessary relationship was observed between the quality and amount of the printed materials and the quality of the program. Primarily because of the time and cost constraints under which the study group worked, it was deemed not feasible to adhere to scientific sampling procedures in selecting target schools. Rather, the group divided the country into four regions—East, South, Midwest, West—and selected institutions within each of these regions. The selection relied largely on both the investigating team's knowledge of the location of various kinds of programs and information received during the planning stage of the study. In addition, of course, the group wanted to include among the target institutions a variety of institutional types in each region. Accordingly, the group sample reflects both the nature of control and the regions covered.

FINDINGS

Program Origins and Titles. Most of the programs included in the study originated in response to student demands. Table 3 provides a breakdown of circumstances prompting the establishment of the 29 programs.

TABLE 3—PROGRAMS BY ORIGIN

Originating Source	Number
Student Demands	16
Indefinite Origins	5
Research and Teaching Interests of Faculty Scholars	4
Foundation Grants	2
Black Community Demands	1
Recruitment of Black Faculty and Students	1
Total	29

At all of the predominantly Black institutions surveyed (6 of 29), courses in Negro History have been offered at least intermittently since the 1920's and 1930's. Beginning in the early 1960's, partially as a consequence of the "Negro Revolution," the impact of the work of Malcolm X, Martin Luther King and other spin-off movements, the broadening of student demands and faculty teaching and research interests led to the formulization of these courses into Black Studies programs. The same interests also generated a significant increase in emphasis on courses related to Africa. Conversely, in the case of a predominantly white institution, the establishment of Black Studies programs represented the creation of totally new academic and administrative structures, new courses, recruitment of new faculty and the need for legitimization of a new area of academic endeavor.

Programs focusing on the Black Experience are identified by a variety of labels. Table 4 gives some indication of the nomenclature employed in the 29 programs surveyed.

TABLE 4—PROGRAMS BY TITLES

Titles	Number
Black Studies	14
Afro-American Studies	11
Ethnic Studies	2
Africana Studies	1
Urban Affairs	1
Total	29

As can easily be determined by inspection, the largest single number of programs operate under the label Black Studies. Afro-American studies follow as a close second. The use of the rubric "Ethnic Studies" as a program title for the Black Experience is somewhat surprising. Instead, this title is usually reserved for a broader category of which Black Studies is very often one of the subdivisions. There is still some question as to what importance, if any, can be attached to the name of a program. The finding of this study will not permit us to conclude that the appending of a name is a meaningless preference. Evidence does point to the conclusion that no significant distinction exists between programs entitled Afro-American Studies and those labeled Black Studies. The Higher Education General Information Survey of the Office of Education* should benefit from this information in further developing its areas of Black and Ethnic Studies. They are not the same.

Structure and Relationship to the Institutions. Examination of the 29 programs revealed three organizational patterns. First, there were 19 programs existing as autonomous units.** For these purposes the unit was usually held to a separate system of accountability; usually had equal status with other university units such as centers, departments or area studies programs. In these instances the program director's responsibility was to the Dean, the Vice President or some other official consistent with the responsibilities of directors of corresponding academic units.

The second pattern was that of Black Studies programs as non-autonomous units. This pattern was found in six institutions. Most prevalent in this category was the placement of programs within existing departments or centers as was the case at five institutions. At one institution the Black Studies program took the form of a semi-autonomous center with a faculty advisory committee.

*Huff, Robert A. and Chandler, Marjorie O. *A Taxonomy of Instructional Programs in Higher Education*. U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, OE-50064. Washington, D.C., Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office. 1970. 32 p.

**Autonomous, as used in this report, refers to the process by which a unit operates administratively and academically in the institutional system.

Four universities had unique arrangements. At one, the program was both a department and an institute. At another, the program had both academic and student service components, with plans for complete separation of the two phases in September 1973. The third had a Black Studies Institute which operated under the Dean of the College of Humanities. The fourth had an informal attachment to the Graduate School but drew faculty from participating departments.

TABLE 5—STRUCTURE OF BLACK STUDIES PROGRAMS

Type of Structure	Number
Autonomous Unit	19
Non-Autonomous Unit	6
Other	4
Total	29

Theoretical Focus and Objectives of Black Studies Programs

Some of the programs visited offer Pan-Africanism and Third World orientations as a part of their philosophical stance, but emphasis was usually focused on the experiences of Black Americans. Program objectives as listed cover the wide range of purposes, some of which were overlapping. Table 6 will provide a quick, convenient summary.

TABLE 6—OBJECTIVES OF BLACK STUDIES PROGRAMS

Statement of Objectives	Number
To provide an understanding of the life, history and culture of Afro-Americans—an awareness of the Black Experience	11
To develop the tools of inquiry necessary for research and publication	9
To provide an opportunity to acquire skills and knowledge for building the Black community	7
To provide an understanding of the current social, economic, and psychological condition of Black people	5
To provide an understanding of racism as an element in American life	5
To liberate Black people	3
To provide specialized training to develop professionals	3
To humanize American education and American society	3
To explode myths about Blacks	3
To help fashion a Black identity	3
To provide an opportunity to experiment with art forms expressing the Black Experience	2

Not included in the above table as an objective, but listed by one program each were the following: (1) to fill a Black void in higher education; (2) to develop an additional resource for Black students; and (3) to inform whites about Blackness and to develop cultural awareness.

As indicated by Table 6 five broad categories of objectives recur in the programs. The *first* and most frequent is similar to the common theme of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History. It posits that knowledge of Black history and culture will produce attitudes conducive to better self-concepts and will provide "proof" of the contributions and therefore the "worth" of Black peoples to civilization. Included in this objective is a range of psychological manifestations put under the rubric of awareness.

The *second* most frequently cited objective goes to the core of the concept of Black Studies. Those who are academically oriented will be pleased to find that the development of tools of inquiry for research and publication was listed by approximately a third of the programs as a major objective. Further, the information gathered seems to point to a heavy reliance on research and publications about the Black Experience to provide a back-drop for the academic legitimacy of the experiences and ideas of peoples of African and Caribbean descent.

The *third* most common objective was in the area of social change. The program generally sought to provide the tools, skills and knowledge which would enable Black students to compete favorably in the greater American and International society. Approximately fifty percent of the programs that have social change as a major objective, specifically seek to send Black students back to their communities to implement the program emphasized in course work.

A *fourth* most common objective of Black Studies programs aims at promoting better understanding among people of African heritage wherever they are found. This Pan-African focus or Black-African solidarity theme stresses cultural and skill exchanges between universities, communities, and governments in the Third World.*

The *fifth* category of objectives deals with the pervasive nature of racism in American society. This objective has political, social, and economic overtones. Programmatically, its influence is not limited to one segment of subject matter—for example, Black Studies.

Financing. While the sources for financing Black Studies Programs are varied, the programs are sup-

*Definition: When used domestically or intra United States it is inclusive for Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans and Native Americans. It also refers to an identification with those countries in a post-colonial relationship to western countries and not a part of the Soviet Union "Eastern" Power Bloc countries, such as newly independent African countries.

ported in the main from regular institutional budgets, commonly referred to as "hard money." Of the 29 programs in the survey, 22 indicated that the programs in their present form are financed totally or almost totally by this means. Of the remaining programs, 3 were underwritten by grants from private foundations, 4 were supported by Federal funding or other non-institutional sources.

Programs supported by University "hard money" were not necessarily guaranteed continuing support as is the case with department and programs which have become formal aspects of the traditional curriculums of these universities. Black Studies programs were still regarded as innovations with less than assured status in future curriculums organizations on their respective campuses. Further some of these programs had been added to traditional departments and absorbed in the existing budgets with little or no increments in financial or in-kind resources available to the departments.

Of those programs initially funded by private foundations, one at a predominantly white institution was in limbo while the other two, one at a predominantly white institution and one at a predominantly Black institution, have been or will be phased into the "hard money" allocations at their institutions as the foundation support expires. In the first instance, the predominantly white university in question had failed to provide the necessary funding to continue the program. A predominantly Black institution funded by the same foundation was required to provide the foundation with assurance that the university would, during the grant period, match the foundation's support and assume full responsibility for the program upon termination of the five-year grant.

Federal funding provided a major source of support for an on-going program at one predominantly Black institution. Through an Office of Education grant,* a graduate degree granting program was greatly strengthened with at least ten Fellows receiving the Master of Arts degree in the Social Sciences with a concentration in Black Studies in each of the academic years of 1971, 1972, and 1973. In addition, the enrollment of non-Fellows in the program has been accelerated. The funding of Fellows under the grant has been terminated, but the program's future is optimistic inasmuch as the faculty is paid from the regular university budget and the courses are a part of the normal offerings in the various departments.

*OE grant for a program for teacher training under the Educational Personnel Development Act program.

Faculty: Issues in Recruitment, Retention and Tenure

Problems of staffing Black Studies programs were frequently cited by the directors interviewed. Recruitment and maintenance of a competent faculty depends on the availability of such persons in the academic marketplace and the provision of competitive salaries and other prerequisites and privileges. Because of the lack of post-baccalaureate offerings in Black Studies at most American colleges and universities in the past, the cadre of individuals available for appointment in the new programs was very limited. Experienced faculty members were largely those located at the predominantly Black institutions, some of whom were not offered the option of moving into these programs at predominantly white institutions, while others, for a variety of reasons, were reluctant to accept the offers.

Once Black Studies programs were established, the question of faculty tenure became very critical to their development. In most institutions tenure has generally been the decision of the departments. Should the Black Studies faculty follow the traditional pattern used in the determination of tenure in one of the traditional departmental units? Almost without exception, this question was regarded as important if not crucial to the survival of programs as legitimate academic units.

In the Black Studies programs visited three distinctive tenure patterns emerged.

One pattern provided for independent recruitment of Black Studies faculty members by the program for exclusive assignment to Black Studies courses. For the most part, where this pattern prevailed, the affected faculty members were without academic rank and were ineligible for tenure. This was the dominant pattern.

The second pattern entailed joint appointments in Black Studies and some other department with the faculty holding academic rank and eligibility for tenure. Tenure could be achieved only through the cooperating department in which the joint appointment was held and not through Black Studies.

The third pattern was one in which the Black Studies faculty recruitment and appointments were the prerogatives of the Black Studies program and the granting of academic rank and tenure was also granted through the program. There was very limited use of this pattern. It was not uncommon to find patterns one and two used in combination in the schools visited.

The information on tenure was not easily obtained. Illustrative of the general pattern is the case at one major mid-western university where the Director indicated that he was one of three Black faculty members

with tenure. The other two were the Associate Director of the program and another Black professor not formally involved in Black Studies. The Black Studies faculty at this institution, excluding the Director and Associate Director, consisted of two full-time professors, two half-time professors and six part-time professors.

Enrollment Patterns. There was a scarcity of data on enrollment patterns* in the programs sampled. Generally, most of the Black Studies programs have a small number of majors per program, but provide service courses for an average of approximately 500 students per year. These students may seek concentrations in the Black Studies areas, but generally major in one of the traditional social sciences disciplines. The data from the study indicate that more students take courses in Black Studies in the mid-western schools, but students in schools in the South and East are more likely to major in Black Studies.*

As might reasonably be expected, the vast majority of the majors are Black and Chicano students. Whites usually do not go beyond "service" level courses. This much seems clear, the current academic impact of Black Studies must be measured largely in terms of service enrollment for meeting general education requirements or as electives.

Separate Majors. Black Studies, from the point of formal appearance on the educational scene, must be regarded as a young discipline. Yet, 22 of the 29 programs included in the survey had at the time of the study already established separate majors. Table 7 indicates the distribution of these majors according to the titles under which the programs operate.

TABLE 7—BLACK STUDIES MAJORS BY PROGRAM TITLE

Majors:	Africana Studies	Afro-American Studies	Black Studies	Ethnic Studies	No Majors
Number:	1	10	8	3	7

As might have been expected, the majority of the majors are clustered in programs operating under the titles of Afro-American Studies and Black Studies. An observation of the investigation team is that this is, at least, partially a function of the nature of the sample. For example, institutions located in the Southwest and West appear to be much more likely to use the title Ethnic Studies than elsewhere. Although the study did not attempt, specifically, to test this matter, there are indications that the presence in an area of more than one minority in substantial numbers has some bearing on this tendency. It is also true that a number of Black or Afro-American programs grow out of formerly ethnically grouped minority programs where competition for funds and privilege is keen. When separate programs are formed for specific ethnic groups, the similarity of problems with institution officials usually make it mutually beneficial for the groups to confer with each other for the purpose of jointly attacking problems facing them. Programs labeled Afro-American or Black Studies report a high degree of cooperation between all non-anglo programs in their respective institutions.

The offering of a separate major is probably a strong indication that the students, faculty, and, to some extent, the administration is willing to accept Black Studies as a legitimate discipline. Many institutions, however, hedge this bet by requiring Black Studies majors to also major in another discipline. Two programs, in particular, one in the East and the other in the Midwest have refused to accept this condition. Instead, they have intensified their own press toward legitimacy.

The number of students majoring in Black Studies is difficult to establish. The information that was collected on majors, points to an average of between 15-25 per program. This range includes students who are concentrating. These are students who (while not majors) take enough hours in Black Studies to constitute the equivalent of a minor or even a major.

Degree Granting Status. Of the 29 programs surveyed 17 offer degrees in Black Studies. A total of fifteen (15) of the programs offer B.A. degrees only. Two schools offer, in addition to the B.A., junior college level certificates while two of the schools which offer B.A.'s also offer M.A. and M.P.A. degrees. Thus, students may obtain bachelor's degrees from fifteen (15) institutions and the master's degree from four (Pepperdine College, Atlanta University, City College and Southern University). One of the institutions, Atlanta University, services graduate students only and at Southern University, the M.A. degree was the only degree in Black Studies at the time.

The next two categories of findings, were not a part of the original design of the study. They are presented here because of the frequency with which they were mentioned during the survey and their importance to an understanding of the subject.

Relationship to Auxiliary and Supportive Services for Minority Students. It is well known by now that the establishment of Black Studies programs on American campuses in the late 1960's was the product

*In the majority of cases this data was supplied by an Administrative Officer of the institution visited.

of Black student activism. What is less well known, perhaps, is that these studies were just one aspect or part of their concern. Among the other items high on the student agenda was an increased Black presence in the university community.

By 1973, the percentage of Black students on the majority of the campuses investigated had increased substantially from its 1967 level (although all too often the base was so small that a small numerical increase constituted a phenomenal percentage increase). Only in one case had no real effort been made to recruit more Black students. Yet these increased numbers seem to have been accompanied by a heightened sense of frustration and alienation which Black students, in smaller numbers, had heretofore experienced on such campuses but had silently endured.

The question that this section addresses is to what extent do the schools investigated acknowledge the frustration—academically, culturally, socially—that many Black students were likely to experience, and what institutional arrangements are provided to deal with it. More specifically, what support services—counseling, tutoring, cultural center do they provide for their Black minorities? A second question was what is the relationship between the Black Studies program and the institutional support for Black students where these exist?

Not surprisingly, the institutional responses to the problems varied. Two of the schools with the strongest Black Studies departments—two large publically supported universities in the Midwest—also had the strongest support systems. At one, this was symbolized by the position of the Vice Chancellor for Afro-American Affairs. In this position, the Vice Chancellor tries to promote the well being of the 1200 Black students enrolled. At the time of the investigator's visit, a comprehensive Black cultural center which would house all the support activities for Black students-tutors, counselors, library multi-media under one roof was being opened. The center, in the Vice Chancellor's opinion, is concrete evidence of the University's commitment to support Black aspirations. It is generally true that all places visited were in the process of building their principal library collections in the area of African-American Studies and Afro-American resources. All were in the process of becoming.

Although the Office of Afro-American Studies at the other large State University did not have responsibility for support activities the Office did work with all elements of the Black population on campus. The agency which provides most of the student support at this institution was the Office of Minority Affairs. Within the Office of Minority Affairs was an Office of Development and Selections which was responsible for counseling, tutorial, and other kinds of programs for those among the 3500 Black students who need help to remain in school.

The majority of the programs visited did not have support services for Blacks commensurate with those at the two institutions just noted, although most have or are in the process of developing some kind of cultural center or Black house. The reasons for this varied. It is instructive to take note of the situations at two large prestigious privately controlled universities located in the Midwest and East respectively for the insight they give into the institutional climate at the two schools vis-a-vis Black students and their problems. Further, a rather close look might provide a basis for making an estimate about the future prospects of Black Studies at these and similarly situated institutions.

The situation at the Midwestern school has been described as one of benevolent neglect. There were few, if any support services there for Black students. The President of the University, however, is generally regarded as highly sympathetic to Black aspirations. The problem there, according to the Associate Director of the Black Studies Program, was that the school is reluctant to incur the negative publicity it felt it would incur if it provided separate support services for Blacks. This public relation oriented stance causes University officials to "cringe at the notion of something separate for Blacks."

The Eastern institution listed in this comparison was quite another matter. The situation there was described as malignant neglect. There was, according to reports, a very strong bias against providing special support or facilities of any kind for Blacks. Even the Black culture center was denied University support; no student fees were assessed to support it, and the Black students were running it as best they could on their own. Moreover, the Black students themselves were under attack, led interestingly enough, by a Black professor. The Black professor's analysis of the situation was taken up by whites, and, according to informed sources at the University, was used to support arguments against tuition and other financial grants which have helped to increase the Black undergraduate enrollment at the institution.

Community Outreach. "Relevance" and "service to the Black community" were two of the most important demands voiced by the student movement for Black Studies. Accordingly, theorists have argued pro and con that community outreach activities, which provide both relevance and community service, were necessarily and logically a part of any well-conceived and complete Black Studies program. The present study

sought to determine empirically how actual programs have dealt with the problems. Specifically, the investigators were interested in whether outreach activities were a part of existing programs, and the nature and scope of such activities where they existed.

Eleven of the 29 schools studied have some kind of community outreach program. In at least 12 cases, however, the directors told the investigators that they were either about to implement a program or begin to plan one. The existing programs ranged from a very elaborate affair at a large Midwestern state university to more modest programs in which several non-credit courses were provided for the Black community at-large. Two of these programs will be described in some detail.

By almost any criteria, the outreach program at the state university noted above is the most complete of the two. The program was perceived by those in charge as not only for students, but as an agency to serve the community as well.

Through its off-campus Community Extension Center the program provides:

(a) A means of counseling for student involvement in the community. Students get credit for such experience as Black community development for their work in the community. Black student development attracts about 80 students per semester, most of whom are Black.

(b) Formal course work both for credit and non-credit. Some of the non-credit courses designed for community people include vocational and avocational courses, such as photography and upholstery.

(c) Cultural and recreational programs.

(d) Pre-job counseling (e.g. teaching young adults how to present themselves effectively to prospective employers).

A second component of the outreach program is the Urban Intern Program. This Program is operated in cooperation with Model Cities and the State Urban Development Program to put ten students per semester into the community. Students get their tuition plus $200 for both Model Cities and the agencies with which they are working.

A third component of the program is subsumed under the concept of the "floating university." This includes making available civic education learning experiences to the Black community. For example, through its Social Relevance of the Black Experience Program, the State Urban Development Program affords the Black community an opportunity to meet with visiting lecturers in the humanities. And through its Black Speakers Bureau, it makes nationally known political figures like Julian Bond and Kenneth Gibson available to the community. When the speakers were unable to interact directly with the people, their speeches were taped and transmitted to the community through the University radio station.

A second notable outreach program was observed at a private Midwestern urban university. There the program was organized under the aegis of the Institute of Black Studies, Inc., a private non-profit corporation which has been in operation since 1970. In addition to the Black Studies faculty, the Institute also drew on other faculty (both graduate and undergraduate) and students. The Institute, frequently referred to as a "Communiversity" had as its most important concern to serve as a forum for bringing the Black community together to discuss the crucial issues which affect all Americans, but whose immediate impact is felt more directly in minority communities. It also provided seminars, forums, intensive in-depth workshops, etc., which focused on the experience of African and American Blacks as well as contemporary issues relating to their experience. Finally, the Institute provided opportunities for students to obtain practical and meaningful experience in the Black community.

CONCLUSIONS

An analysis of the data collected during the investigation pointed to the following conclusions:

1. Most of the Black Studies programs included in the study originated as a result of student demands. In Black institutions this new thrust represented a resurgence of an interest in Negro history and Negro literature present in most of these schools since the 1920s.
2. The vast majority of the programs studied operated as autonomous units. Structures most frequently used were the department, the center, the division and the institute. The few programs that functioned as parts of other structures were either new, incorporated into emerging ethnic-urban programs, or attached to umbrella units such as a graduate school.
3. Generally the programs investigated derived their theoretical focus from the experience of Black Americans. These programs were overwhelmingly academically oriented with major emphasis placed on a knowledge of and an identity with the Black Experience: the life, history, and culture of Afro-Americans.
4. Nearly all of the programs surveyed were supported financially by funds from the regular institutional budgets. This "hard money" support did not provide the stability that might have been expected because most of the programs did not hold an assured status in the curricula organization of the institution where they were located. The inability to operate on the basis of long-term plans created an atmosphere of impermanence. Programs not on institutional budgets were financed by foundations or Federal government grants. These programs were subject to all the vicissitudes of other programs which operate on that basis.
5. In most programs the Black Studies faculty was without academic rank and tenure; that only those faculty members who held joint appointments in Black Studies and one of the traditionally departments were usually granted tenure; and that in the rare cases where the granting of academic rank and tenure was through the Black Studies faculty itself, it was usually limited to directors.
6. In most of the programs visited, the problem of staffing was a very difficult one. The number of persons available for appointments with credentials consistent with what the objectives of the programs demanded was very small. As a consequence of this situation the faculties of these programs did not always qualify for rank and tenure under the traditional systems in operation at the institutions where the programs were located.
7. Information from the study indicates an enrollment pattern of a relatively small number of majors—largely Black and Chicano—and a rather large service enrollment for general requirements of approximately 500 students per program. Although 22 of the 29 programs had set up separate majors and 18 of the 29 programs offered degrees in Black Studies. Until a sufficient number of programs begin offering the doctorate and begin to produce research with some consistency, the greatest impact of Black Studies will probably come from the service enrollment in fulfilling general education degree requirements.
8. Though the study was not designed specifically to assess the relationship between Black Studies programs and the existence of auxiliary and supporting services for minority students on a campus, the data indicated that on the campuses where two of the strongest Black Studies programs were located, the most comprehensive support services also existed. It is possible that the presence of such services indicate institutional commitment which tended to have a positive reinforcing effect on the educational efforts of minority students.
9. Information from the study indicated that eleven programs have some kind of community-outreach component but that only a few have developed and put into operation significant projects in this area. While the directors and other members of the staffs of the programs in the study express approval of a community phase of their programs conceptually, they have not generally assigned a high priority to this component.

MAJOR ISSUES AND FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR INSTITUTIONAL SURVIVAL
BY
HENRY COBB

Examination of and reflection on the information collected during the visitations to the 29 Black Studies programs revealed several pervasive concerns. This section of the report, however, represents something more than a simple analysis of data. The comments here go beyond the bare facts that were gathered in the survey. They include the best opinion of the Advisory Group.

1. Black Studies programs are still not regarded as secure components of the institutions visited. This insecurity prevails despite the fact that most programs are part of the "hard money" or regular institutional budget and also, for the most part, programs have been given some type of autonomous status in university organization.

2. Inherent in the survival of Black Studies programs is an apparent contradiction. Black Studies programs in large measure, grew out of Black student demands for a different kind of option in their educational development. As the programs emerged, however, it became obvious that their acceptance as respectable academic additions would depend on the extent to which their structures, purposes and course offerings approximated traditional programs. Thus, in the evaluation of Black Studies faculties and programs, those same criteria used in the normal evaluation process were applied, even though these programs were initiated as innovations.

3. The number of students choosing to major in Black Studies is still rather small in most of the programs, with the larger corps of majors in those programs which offer a complementary major in one of the other subject matter areas. It would seem that the growth and development of Black Studies programs will be related to the structure of the major and the acceptance of Black Studies courses as service courses by other disciplines.

4. Because of the critical nature of tenure in the survival of any teaching unit at a university, the academic training of Black Studies faculty will probably remain a central concern for Program Directors. Almost without exception, the route to tenure is through other subject matter departments.

5. Several programs have witnessed extreme tensions between faculty primarily interested in Africa and those primarily interested in the Afro-American Experience. There are also tensions resulting from the composition of the faculty. In cases where the mix exists, indications are that there is a three-way struggle among Blacks from Continental Africa, Blacks from the Caribbean area, and Blacks from the United States. One of the team members labeled this internecine struggle a form of neo-tribalism. A well-devised program philosophy would probably go a long way toward solving this problem.

6. Financial problems face most of the programs in what has become an era of tight money in academia. The expansion of these programs was regarded as unlikely by most of the directors interviewed. Holding at the present level of resource allocation would seem to constitute a major victory in the intra-university competition now going on.

7. There can be little doubt that Black Studies programs have raised a number of questions which constitute problems for institutions of higher education. First of all, these programs have not been, until recently, a part of the long-range planning of the institutions where they have their situs and out of this grows problems of (a) space, (b) staffing, (c) financial support, and (d) administrative oversight. Second, many of these programs have not won the accord of the councils that bestow or withhold academic respectability on these campuses. They are plagued by a widespread suspicion that they lower academic standards and in general pollute the intellectual atmosphere. Despite the fact that most of these programs are avant garde, or, at least, reformist in outlook, the techniques used for their legitimization have been largely those of the academy.

8. The findings of the study suggest that outreach components generally have not tended to be incorporated into Black Studies programs. Two reasons, both without substantial documentation, will be offered here as to why this has been the case. The first reason is that many program directors *perceive these programs* as they do traditional academic programs concerned primarily with the intellectual and cognitive development of the student.

Regrettably, the investigators did not attempt to determine the views of the first set of directors they

visited about community involvement and outreach. The concern, in those first interviews, was to determine whether and where such programs actually existed and to assess their quality. It occurred to the investigators, belatedly, that it was important to ascertain the director's orientations toward involvement and outreach, because this could serve as an indicator of whether such a thrust was likely to occur in the future.

The second explanation of why most programs had no outreach component is that given the limited available resources, although community involvement was judged valid, the first priority was to develop and implement an academic program. This was confirmed by at least four schools where the directors were specifically asked about this. For example, at two Eastern private universities the directors indicated that they thought community outreach was an essential part of a comprehensive Afro-American studies program. At one, a modest initial outreach program was being projected for 1973-74, in the form of a three-hour course in Black Community Development. At the other, such a program apparently will have to await the funding of another structure for the program.

Summarizing from the available information, it appears that Black Studies directors tend to perceive community involvement and outreach activities as an integral and necessary feature of comprehensive Afro-American studies programs, but do not as a rule give this component top priority. Indeed, the reason that so few programs do not now include these activities is that the directors have had to put first things first, in order to get their programs off the ground.

It is reasonable to conclude from this that if community outreach programs are to be developed and implemented on any significant scale, support for such activities must be forthcoming from the universities.

9. The most effective Black Studies program appears to be one with high visibility and credibility, consistent with patterns that are characteristic of traditional departments and centers at colleges and universities. A designated head of the Black Studies program, an office, secretarial assistance and the other usual accoutrements are parts of this visibility. While adequate, secure, continuous allocation of financial resources is imperative to the achievement of visibility and credibility, financial support alone is not enough. Without academic respectability Black Studies programs are destined to continue to be marginal units.

10. Directors and faculty of Black Studies programs must resolve the crucial problem of the acquisition of faculty tenure without taking an overly compromising stand on the achievement and preservation of the educational options which Black Studies programs were designed to provide. This might well entail the development of long-term goals on the part of existing faculty in these new programs with certain personal professional risks as compared to the relative security of the faculty in traditional disciplines and departments.

11. Judicious use of political clout achieved through the election and appointment of Blacks to local and State legislative bodies, governing boards of colleges and universities and other public bodies such as school boards, student government associations or Black student unions are another source of impact. Historically this was the major political base of the programs. It is now no longer clear what the student pressures are in this area.

12. Traditionally, academic subject matters are legitimated mainly by the large, prestigious graduate schools which produce most of the Ph. D.'s and therefore the research. There is not a single such Afro-American Studies department in the U.S. today, although some programs aspire to that status. The development of such graduate programs will be costly, but until some are developed it is unlikely that Afro-American Studies will be on the same footing as other disciplines. It must be remembered that area or country studies were not fully acceptable until they became the focus of considerable money and research. Even today, American Studies may seem not to be as prestigious as its component subject matter disciplines such as history, literature, and political science.

LEADERSHIP

Although this study did not document it as adequately as might have been desired an important consideration is the problem of leadership. At the schools visited, leadership tended to be a very important factor in what was or was not accomplished. The first prerequisite for effective leadership was the academic credentials which the program director possessed. Without a Ph. D. degree, or its equivalent, he seemed to be crippled at the start in his relationship with senior members of the faculty, deans, and similar officers with whom he had to work and try to influence. Beyond the credentials, which seemed to be necessary but not sufficient, the effective director needed to understand the nature of the environment in which he was operating, and how to take advantage of it in order to achieve his program's objectives. Even though the environment itself places the most important constraint on what any director is able to do, the astute director may be able to exploit it to an extent that less astute directors are unable to do.

The requirements, that one be part-scholar, part-administrator and part-academic politician are no less (and are mostly greater) for leadership in developing Black Studies departments. Strong academic departments are not built without these qualities in their leadership. The future survival of Black Studies then will depend in large part on those leadership qualities in the people it attracts. Leadership in permanently institutionalizing Black Studies is not always the same as leadership in building the demand for its inclusion as a legitimate discipline. The two are related but there are many more complex demands placed on those who must build the safe havens within which scholars and teachers can pursue their goals. Leadership now must know how to maintain a flow of money, autonomy and staff capability for developing a department as well as individual research interests over decades, not years.

The articulation of the intellectual abandonment of Blacks by much of conventional scholarship has been done well by students and by their supporters among Black intellectuals. Future prospects for Black Studies will depend heavily on a different breed of men who respect and revere the development of intellectual power but who can build the long term structures to the year 2000 within which that intellectual power can develop with first-rate budgets, facilities, staffs and student populations.

CRITICAL COMMENTARY
BY
ELIAS BLAKE, JR.

Established institutions tend to resist change. When change comes it tends to come slowly over periods of years. Superficial changes which do not result in fundamental rearrangement of power relationships are easiest to obtain. Colleges and universities despite the face they show to the world as sources of ferment and even avant garde movement, are internally conservative as institutions. The disquieting signals of unrest and radicalism tend to be associated with students, and a minority of them, and younger faculty. The impact of these highly publicized movements on the basic internal structure and functioning of an institution tend to be impermanent. Whatever comes into the institution to pressure for change ultimately faces the same forces whether, radical left professors, collective bargaining, equal employment for women and minorities, or Black students and faculty wanting Black Studies.

The survival of Black Studies within universities must necessarily depend on the larger patterns of change or resistance to change. Successful breaching of the existing structures will often depend on a mastering of issues unrelated to specific intellectual and cognitive omissions that denigrate and insult Black Americans. Those responsible for creating a long term future of Black Studies must understand the institutional as well as the intellectual and cognitive issues.

Institutional issues have to do with the kinds of information categories listed in this study. They go beyond *what* one wants to do and into *how* one accomplishes important objectives. That brings one face to face not just, for example, with a need for better scholarship about Blacks in Social Science and Humanities but with the money and people to get the work done. That is why some commentary was needed on these categories such as

Financing
Faculty Recruitment and Tenure
Enrollment Patterns
Majors and Minors
Degree Granting Status

The quality of the intellectual and cognitive work depends on an intricate series of interactions between these factors. A first-rate scholar or teacher requires a good salary and good working conditions; this depends on money available; money available depends on enrollment at the general education and major field levels. There is intra-institutional competition for money and students among departments or divisions of a college or university. The general directions of an institution also determine how it allocates its resources and whether it recruits the kinds of students a particular field of study finds hard or easy to attract.

If one assumes the rightness and justice of one's cause will exempt him from concern about such issues, he will be sorely and rudely disabused. Lofty objectives shared by important figures from public platforms will be subjected to bureaucratic guerilla warfare or various losses of the ability of supporters of Black Studies to expand their resource base in money and people. This is not a naive assessment which ignores the need for generating essentially political pressures whether from students, the adult Black community, influential Black leaders or politicians or combinations of them. It rather indicates someone must be concerned about *how* one translates political pressures into long term structures for quality developments in Black Studies. The most ardent supporters will ultimately expect Black Study administrators to advise them on the best decisions to make on their behalf.

From this survey, it is clear that the political pressures of student demands were not and have not yet been translated into assured departments or divisions with a long term future of increasing strength and vitality. The kinds of political pressures that existed earlier then appear to be largely gone. Fear of Black Student unrest seems to be missing now. The task now is to work through the tough and unglamorous issues in the internal politics of a school.

- What is the best type of administrative structure to gain the strongest long term financial support?
- What are the best types of appointments to recommend for faculty to insure the best salaries, the strongest tenure yet maintain their allegiance to a strong *program* of Black scholarship and teaching?
- What should be our posture toward courses required for all persons for graduation, should we

aggressively offer such courses, do they strengthen our financial base or weaken it as we look to the future?

— What are we building, basically a teaching department with some research or a research department with some teaching or both? Will our strength be in graduate work on a research base or undergraduate work on a teaching base?

— What is the budget cycle for increases in financial resources and staff positions? What are the bases of increases and decreases, what is the process of decisionmaking?

— What are our projections through 1980 to 1985? What are our staff development and student enrollment, and if appropriate, majors productivity goals.

Though one must articulate the primary intellectual and cognitive reasons for pursuing Black Studies repetitively and with force and vigor, these administrative and structural issues must not be ignored. They are the enablers for turning rhetoric into reality, aspirations into solid achievements.

Builders are needed with the ability for not losing sight of the major intellectual and cognitive goals of Black Studies *and* the capacity for administrative, managerial, and interpersonal details. This movement must not allow a false dichotomy to develop between men of intellect and men of action who do not take "perfect" positions, but can build the structures for those who want to take such positions. We need first-rate scholars and teachers, but Black Studies needs a breed of men who can do the non-scholarly and non-teaching work required for teachers and scholars to function well. This is particularly true of a field that will suffer for some time from decisionmakers who have strong reservations about the legitimacy of Black Studies. It will also be feared because its scholarship, if good, will so often attack or alter or revise much of what now exists about American history, culture and arts and letters. Strong protectors will be needed in the coming decade until the legitimacy issue is put to rest. Saying Black Studies are legitimate will not make them so. The work that is actually done will make it so.

Some specific comments are below on issues confronting programs now and in the future.

— Should Supportive Services including admissions, recruitment, retention and counseling services be a part of Black Studies?

From this survey it appears that they should not. Separate programs should be set up to deal with those issues. Black Studies aims at academic goals analogous to any other academic fields. If an institution is being responsive to the needs of Blacks it should have both Black Studies and Supportive Services. The two must cooperate but they seem to require different personnel and different goals. Where there are no other focal points for meeting the needs of Black students, a Black Studies Staff may have to serve these functions. The staff, however, should be bringing pressure for a separate and fully designed program of Supportive Services while Black Studies develops its primarily academic thrust.

— Should service courses be a major part of a Black Studies Department or Division?

Service courses are generally a part of the required general education program of a college. These are the survey courses and the electives designed to broaden ones education beyond narrow professionalism. It is to the advantage of Black Studies to have responsibility for offering required courses or a number of electives, one to two of which are required for graduation. If it develops popular electives in a university it must have the resources to do them well. Though this is not the primary goal, it helps one deal with the legitimacy issue and gives one longevity while developing a strong all-round program.

Such a program of service courses would enroll significant numbers of non-Blacks. If these courses are of quality their impact on the future of Blacks should be felt in the way in which future lawyers, judges, Federal and State officials who are non-Black make their decisions. Some will say this is futile to try. One should not refuse the opportunity to try. Nothing in this course of action precludes the most highly intense and sophisticated work beyond the lower levels in a Black Studies Department.

— Should one develop outreach or community develop efforts that go beyond conventional campus bound courses of study?

It is clear that one variety of program that is heavily action-oriented and concerned about public policy issues will have to pursue such programs. The key is in deciding whether one's concept of Black Studies runs most to traditional scholarly activity in history, economics, sociology, political science, literature or to ways of developing leadership for solving contemporary problems. One can do both over time, but priorities will be set unless you can do everything concurrently.

With the public policy orientation outreach, intern practicum activities are critical. The sharp question for such a program is the academic quality of such programs. They must make certain the field work is developing analytical and *problem-solving* skills versus simply knowing and understanding *problems*. More sharply put the students must become finely

trained professionals with technical or organizational or managerial, or analytical skills not Black versions of college student "gray-lady" volunteers doing uncritical tasks of service.

This is an exceedingly important area because of the developing Urban Land Grant concepts. Blacks and urban centers are very much tied together. Just as the Rural Extension work was based on practical applications out of a knowledge base so must the outreach program flowing out of Black Studies have practical skills and knowledge to offer through its students and graduates.

Survival then means successful programs that can win their battles in the committees and councils of academe. One sure path is to force the respect of academe whether it is grudgingly, fearfully, or freely given. To say that a new field does not have to force its respect is to ignore the reality of survival in academic circles.

Academic respectability comes from the work of the faculty in a particular institution through their research and teaching. Teaching is usually judged through the quality and later accomplishments of the students who flow through the Department. Whatever the style or objectives of a Black Studies program, it must show some impact of its former students. The impact can be in the development of theory and practice in Black community development that clearly improves the lives of Blacks. The impact can be in high quality scholarship, judged by one's peers in Black studies, in filling gaps or correcting knowledge about Black Americans. The impact can be in the quality of teaching done in high schools or colleges by graduates. The impact can be seen in the quality of graduate or professional school work done by former students.

Well organized, well staffed, handsomely supported programs will meet such tests. Programs on starvation levels will not. Yet the problem is to get handsome support *before* one can show the ingredients of academic respectability. Those who are most skillful in creating confidence, both among ones supporters and those who allocate resources, will get the support. The skills will not be expressed in words alone, but rather in actions and strategies designed to grapple with the issues of institutional survival discussed in this Study.

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